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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 LUBUMBASHI 0615

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PINS, CG

SUBJECT: AFTER THE KOLWEZI ATTACK: PART II

THE ZAIRIAN PROSPECTIVE FROM SHABA

1.SUMMARY: ZAIRIANS VIEWS ON IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE AFTER KOLWEZI EVENTS FOCUS ON ROLE OF ZAIRIANS DISSIDENTS IN ATTACK,PERSONNEL ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND LOCAL UNPOPU-LARITY OF THE MOBUTU GOVERNMENT.EVERYONE EXPECTS CONTINUING FLNC PROBLEMS IN THE FUTURE UNTIL THERE IS A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT APPARENT SOCIALISTIC IDEALOGY OF INVADERS AND RUSSIAN/ CUBAN CONNECTION ARE OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. MEASURED RES- PONSE OF AMERICANS AND BELGIANS GENERALLY ACCEPTED. WHILE FRENCH ACTIVITIES RESENTED BY MANY. LONGER TERM WESTERN MILITARY PRESENCE IN ZAIRE WITHOUT RESOLUTION OF BASIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS WILL ONLY PROLONG AGONY CAUSED BY PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND INCREASED HOSTILITY TOWARDS TOWARD FOREIGNERS. END SUMMARY.

2. ZAIRIANS VIEWS ON KOLWEZI ATTACK:

DETAILS OF WHAT HAPPENED IN KOLWEZI REMAIN UNCLEAR AMONG CONFIDENTIAL

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SHABAS'S ZAIRIAN POPULATION BECAUSE MOST VIEW RELECT A MIXTURE OF FACTS WITH GOVERNMENT PRONOUNCEMENTS AND SIDE WALK RUMORS. NEVERTHELESS MOST SHABANS HAVE GENERAL PERSPECTIVE OF EVENTS BASED ON INTERNATIONAL RADIO BROAD CASTS. GENERALLY PEOPLE RECOGNIZE HUNDREDS WERE KILLED BOTH EXPATRIATES AND ZAIRIANS, AND MANY OTHERS LOSTS EVERY

THING DURING GRISLY WEEK OF OCCUPATION AND RECAPTURE.
ALL ECONOMIC LIFE IN KOLWEZI HAS COME TO A HALT. INVADERS THOUGHT TO HAVE COME FROM ANGOLA BUT DEGREE OF CUBAN OR ANGOLAN COMPLICITY IS UNCLEAR. NOT MUCH IS KNOWN LOCALLY ABOUT IDEOLOGICAL PERSUASION. LIKEWISE IT IS UNCLEAR TO MANY WHETHER INVADERS REPRESENTED KATANGA GENDARMESOR FLNC BECAUSE OF ABSENCE OF EFFECTIVE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN. IN POPULATION OPINION, CUBAN/ANGOLAN CONNECTION IS NOT OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE BECAUSE INVADING FORCE IS THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN COMPOSED ALMOST ENTIRELY OF DISSIDENT ZAIRIANS, PERHAPS LARGELY OF SHABAN ORIGIN. THE ZAIRIAN ARMY IS THOUGHT TO HAVE RETREATED FROM KOLWEZI AT FIRST SIGN OF TROUBLE AND PLAYING NO ROLE IN TOWN'S RECAPTURE. ALL CREDIT FOR RESTORING ORDER IS GIVEN TO FRENCH AND BELGIAN PARATROOPERS.

3. SHABAN GREETED RECAPTURE OF KOLWEZI BY FOREIGN TROOPS WITH VERY MIXED FEELINGS. MEMBERS OF SMALL CLASS OF PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL ELITE WELCOMED FOREIGN INTERVENTION AS ONLY WAY THAT KOLWEZI COULD HAVE BEEN RETAKEN AND REST OF SHABA STABILIZED IN FACE OF ADVANCING FLNC OR RETREATING FAZ. INTERVENTION HAD PROTECTED THEIR INTERESTS AND OTHER COMPANIES IN KOLWEZI SAW INVASION DISRUPT THEIR SOURCE OF INCOME AND INTERVENTION SUBJECT THEM TO SEARCHES AND HARASSMENT BY SUSPICIOUS FOREIGN TROOPS. LEGIONNAIRES THOUGHT
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TO HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR DEATHS OF SOME INNOCENT ZAIRIANS. LIKE MOST SHABAN TOWNS, KOLWEZI WAS HOME OF LARGE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE WHO HAD DRIFTED TO TOWNS IN SEARCH OF WORK OR RECENTLY LOST JOBS AND LIVED OFF EARNINGS OF RELATIVES AND TRIBAL BROTHERS. WITH NOTHING TO LOSE MANY OF THESE PEOPLE ALONG WITH SOME OF THE EMPLOYED WORKERS FOUND IN INVASION THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEIZE SOME OF THE WEALTH WHICH SURROUNDED THEM. SEVERAL KOLWEZI RESIDENTS HAVE NOTED THAT INVADING FORCE WAS AT FIRST WELL DISCIPLINED. AFTER TOWN WAS TAKEN BY INVADERS, THEIR RANKS WERE SWELLED, FIRST BY INFILTRATORS WHO HAD HIDDEN IN CITIES AND SECOND BY HOOLIGANS SEEKING QUICK PROFIT OR EASY REVENGE. PERHAPS ONLY 50 PC OF OCCUPYING FORCE HAD ARRIVED FROM OUTSIDE TOWNS BORDERS. IT IS THOSE PEOPLE WHO EMERGED FROM WITHIN KOLWEZI WHO ARE CREDITED WITH MOST OF THE VIOLENCE OF THE

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LATER DAYS. DESPITE DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION IN EVENTS, MOST ZAIRIANS IN KOLWEZI SAID TO HAVE SHOWN SOLIDARITY WITH INVADERS AT FIRST. SOCIALIST DOGMA AND UNCONTROLLED BRUTALITY QUICKLY TURNED MANY AGAINST FLNC, ESPECIALLY AMONG BETTER EDUCATED. ANTI-GOVERNMENT FEELINGS HAVE BEEN STRONG FOR MANY YEARS IN SOUTH SHABA, BUT A RADICAL MARXIST IDEOLOGY HAS NEVER TAKEN HOLD. THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH MADE ALL POSSESSORS OF LOOTED GOODS SUSPECTS AS PARTICIPANTS IN THE INVASION. ON TRIBAL BASIS, THOSE ZAIRIANS NATIVE TO WEST SHABA AND VILLAGES NEAR KOLWEZI WERE BY ALL COUNTS MORE SYMPATHETIC TO INVADERS THAN WERE THOSE ZAIRIANS FROM NORTHERN SHABA OR OTHER PARTS OF ZAIRE.

4. REGARDLESS OF VIEWS ON HORROR OF KOLWEZI ATTACK AND NEED FOR FOREIGN INTERVENTION THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG ZAIRIANS IN SHABA THAT BASIC PROBLEMS ARE INTERNAL BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL. ON ECONOMIC SIDE WEALTH FROM SHABA'S MINERAL RICHES RARELY
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SEEN AS RETURNING TO SHABA. IMPORT LICENSES ARE SELDOM AVAILABLE FOR SHABA'S INDUSTRIES OR BUSINESSMEN FURTHER DEPRESSING ECONOMY. THERE IS HIGH LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT RISING COSTS OF LIVING, AND CONTINUOUS SHORTAGES.

AFTER LABOR UNREST IN SEPTEMBER 1977, ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT ISSUED ORDER FORBIDDING GECAMINES FROM HIRING FUTURE WORKERS OF EITHER KASAIAN OR SHABAN ORIGIN DEPRIVING LOCAL CITIZENS OF OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH ZAIRE'S LARGEST COMPANY. LOCAL BANK PREPARED COST OF LIVING SURVEY IN 1978 WHICH REPORTED THAT AVERAGE FAMILY OF SEVEN ZAIRIANS IN URBAN SHABA AREAS REQUIRED INCOME OF Z259(\$320) PER MONTH TO MAINTAIN MINIMUM SUBSISTENCE LEVEL (NO PROVISIONS FOR NEW CLOTHES, CIGARETTES BEER OR ENTERTAINMENT) SALARY EARNED BY WELL-PAID WORKERS ARE IN RANGE OF 100-150 Z PER MONTH. MOST OF EMPLOYED EARN MUCH LESS. STUDY FURTHER NOTED THAT INFLATION RATE FOR GOODS PURCHASED BY ZAIRIANS HAD AVERAGED 47 PC ANNUALLY SINCE 1976. WAGES BY CONTRAST HAVE INCREASED ONLY ABOUT 15 PC PER YEAR.

5. ON POLITICAL SIDE, GOVERNMENT NEGLECT OF SHABA HAS INCREASINGLY RESEMBLED OPEN DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SHABANS. SINCE DAYS OF KATANGAN INDEPENDENCE, SHABANS HAVE BEEN VIEWED SUSPICIOUSLY BY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AFTER 80 DAYS WAR IN 1977, SHABANS, PARTICULARLY LUNDAS, WERE BLAMED FOR COMPLICITY AND HIGHEST RANKING OFFICIALS OF SHABAN ORIGIN FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER MGUZU KARL I BOND WAS CONDEMNED AS TRAITOR. ELECTIONS OF OCTOBER 1977 DID NOT GIVE POLITICAL BUREAU SEATS TO MOST POPULAR SHABANS. ALLEGED COUP LOT OF FEBRUARY 1978 WAS BLAMED MOSTLY ON SHABANS AND ZAIRIANS FROM SHABA. A FEW SHABAN OFFICERS WERE EXECUTED SOME WERE JAILED AND STILL OTHERS GIVEN DISMISSAL PAPERS DURING THE

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FOLLOWING MONTHS. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ATTACK THE KOLWEZI, PRESIDENT PLACED THE BLAME FOR THE EVENTS ON THE LUANDAS OF WESTERN SHABA. AT PRESENT THERE ARE NO SHABANS HOLDING MAJOR POSITIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT OR THE MILITARY.

6. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EVENTS DURING RECENT YEARS HAVE CONVINCED MOST SHABAN RESIDENTS WHETHER NATIVE OR ZAIRIANS FROM OTHER REGIONS THAT THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT IN KINSHASA FUNCTIONS PRIMARILY TO BENEFIT THE KINSHASA POLITICIANS. THE PRESIDENT IS POPULARLY VIEWED AS BEING A VENAL MAN, CONCERNED ONLY WITH THE WELLBEING OF HIS FAMILY AND A CLOSE GROUP OF SUPPORTERS. HIS ONLY INTERESTS IN SHABA ARE THOUGHT TO BE KEEPING GECAMINES GOING SO THAT FUNDS CONTINUE TO FLOW INTO THE CAPITAL.

7. INTENSE DISLIKE OF THE ZAIRIAN MILITARY IS ANOTHER COMMON STRAND IN SHABAN POLITICAL LIFE. EVEN IN PEACEFUL TIMES THERE ARE ROADBLOCKS ON MOST SHABAN ROADS

WHERE SOLDIERS EXTORT WHAT THEY CAN FROM TRAVELERS
KAMANYOLA UNITS, ASSIGNED TO SHABA FOR THE FIRST TIME
DURING THE 1977 WAR, COMMITTED ATROCITIES IN SEVERAL
WESTERN SHABAN VILLAGES AND PERIODICALLY TERRORIZED THE
URBAN POPULATIONS OF OTHER TOWNS, PARTICULARLY KAMINA
AND KOLWEZI. AFTER THE WAR THESE ACTIVITIES CONTINUED
IN THE POORER SECTIONS IN ALL OF THE THE TOWNS OF SOUTH
SHABA WHERE TROOPS HAD BEEN SENT ALLEGEDLY TO
GUARD THE BORDER AND PROVIDE URBAN SECURITY. EVERY
DAY SINCE THE KOLWEZI ATTACK BRINGS NEW STORIES OF

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BEATINGS AND ROBBERIES BY SOLDIERS WHO HAVE ACCUSED A
VILLAGER OF BREAKING THE CURFEW OR NOT CARRYING PROPER
IDENTIFICATION. WHILE THE BETTER EDUCATED ZAIRIANS
ARE AWARE THAT SOLDIERS ARE ALSO POORLY PAID, POORLY
LED AND FAR FROM HOME, THEY DO NOT FEEL THIS GIVES THEM
THE PRIVILEGE TO TERRORIZE SHABA'S DEFENSELESS URBAN
POOR. IN ADDITION. THERE ARE FEW OBSERVERS OF THE
SCHABAN SCENE WHO HAVE ANY CONFIDENCE THAT FAZ WOULD
OFFER ANY PROTECTION IF ATTACKED. FAZ CONTROLS MOVE
MENTS AND HARASSES PEOPLE, BUT HAS NEITHER THE CAPA-
BILITY NOR THE WILL TO OFFER ANY PROTECTION.

8. PRESENCE OF LARGE EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY IN SHABA
IS REGARDED WITH MIXED FEELINGS BY ZAIRIANS INTELLECTUAL
AND PROFESSIONALS HAVE OCER TROUBLED YEARS SINCE
INDEPENDENCE GENERALLY COME TO RECOGNIZETHAT FOREIGNERS

ARE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT TO SHABAN ECONOMY. MOST PEOPLE
AT ALL LEVELS WHO HAVE AT TIMES WORKED FOR BOTH EURO
PEANS AND ZAIRANS PREFER THE EUROPEAN BOSS PARTICULARLY
IF THE ZAIRIAN WAS FROM ANOTHER PART OF THE COUNTRY.
NEVERTHELESS THERE ARE MANY ZAIRIANS WHO RESENT SHABA'S
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EUROPEANS BECAUSE OF THEIR NUMBERS, THEIR OCCASIONAL
RACIST VIEWS AND FUNDAMENTALLY THEIR OBVIOUS WEALTH.
EUROPEANS WITH ACCESS TO FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND LIBERAL
COMPANY BENEFITS IN ZAIRE ALL LIVE BETTER THAN ZAIRIAN COUNTERPARTS.

EUROPEAN SECTIONS OF TOWNS ARE POCKETS OF AFFLUENCE AMONG
POPULATION WHICH IS STRUGGLING TO AFFORD ONE MEAL PER DAY.
KNOWING THAT SHABA IS RICH AND SEEING WEALTHY EURO
PEANS GIVE IMPRESSION TO MANY OF URBAN POOR THAT AT
LOCAL LEVEL IT IS ONLY EXPATRIATES WHO ARE BENEFITING
FROM SHABA'S MINERAL RICHES. EXPATRIATES ARE EVEN SEEN
BY SOME TO BE IN PARTNERSHIP WITH MOBUTU GOVERNMENT IN
JOINT EFFORT TO MONOPOLIZE SHABA'S WEALTH.

9. GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS ARE GREATLY DOWNPLAYED
IN MINDS OF ALL BUT BEST-EDUCATED. GENERALLY WESTERN
INTERESTS ARE NOT UNDERSTOOD. MANY OF BETTER INFORMED
REFUSE TO BELIEVE THAT FLNC IS TRUE SOCIALIST FORCE
BUT RATHER A GROUP WHICH HAS MADE ALLIANCE OF CON
VENIENCE IN EXCHANGE FOR ARMS AND TRAINING. FOR THE
POOREST THERE IS LITTLE CONCERN ABOUT CUBAN INVOLVE-
MENT OR SOCIALISM. THEY OWN LITTLE AND SEE NOTHING TO LOSE.

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10. UNITED STATES SEEMS GENERALLY REGARDED AS A
FRIEND. THERE IS LITTLE LOCAL CRITICISM OF US IN
CREASED RESPONSE EITHER TO EVENTS OF 1977 OR 1978.
BELGIAN EVACUATION EFFORT IS REGARDED AS GENERALLY
HUMANITARIAN GESTURE TO EVACUATE ITS NATIONS. FRENCH

ACTIONS, BY CONTRAST SEEM TO BE PROPPING UP MOBUTU GOVERNMENT, ALLOWING CONTINUING PERSECUTION OF SHABANS. DURING KOLWEZI ATTACK, THERE WERE MANY REPORTS THAT INVADING FORCE HAD GONE FROM DOOR TO DOOR LOOKIN G FOR FRENCH CITIZENS. ACCORDING TO THE FRENCH CONSULATE THERE ARE STILL A NUMBER OF MISSING FRENCH CITIZENS. WHO ARE PRESUMED TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN HOSTAGE.

11. SHABANS ARE WATCHING CLOSELY ACTIONS OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. FEELINGS ARE MIXED ABOUT DESIRED COURSE OF ACTION.THOSE WITH ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE CONCERNED FIRST WITH STABILITY AND THEREFORE MORE FAVORABLE TO CONTINUED WESTERN MILITARY PRESENCE. MANY, HOWEVER RESENT THE FOREIGN TROOPS BECAUSE THEY PROVIDE MEANS THAT WILL ALLOW MOBUTU GOVERNMENT TO CLING TO POWER. IF FOREIGN TROOPS ARE TO REMAIN TO PROVIDE ASSURANCE OF SECURITY, WARNING OF MOST SHABANS IS THAT SOME CONCURRENTACTION MUST BE TAKEN TO RESOLVE BASIC INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS.
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